174 Four or five generations ago--it need have
131 been no farther removed in point of time--a traveler entering the South Fork valley of the Kern, in what is now east-central California, would have found throughout the length of this narrow, mountain-rimmed valley small clusters of domed willow and tule houses. In these houses, or ranging in groups over the valley and foothills, he would have been likely to encounter certain brown-skinned people, who obviously knew this region as their home.

131 Today white men's ranches dot this same val-
177 ley. Automobiles speed up and down its well-signed highroad; cowboys riding beside restless herds of range cattle, and shepherds trailing slow-moving flocks of dun-colored sheep, traverse its length. But the valley and the surrounding foothills still shelter the descendants, now few in number, of those brown-skinned Mongoloids who less than a century ago spoke a Shoshonean language exclusively, and knew nothing of agriculture and herding, of metal products and writing.

121 During three successive summers it was my
123 privilege to visit this valley, and to work with certain of the Tübatulabal Indians whose parents or grandparents had inhabited it in pre-white days. My purpose was to obtain as complete a description as possible of the manner in which the "old-timers" had lived out their lives in this region. By direct observation, questioning, obtaining genealogies and census lists, visiting former hamlet sites, collecting botanical specimens, gossiping, the aim was in part, at least, attained. The former mode of life of the Tübatulabal, in large measure existent today only in the minds of certain elderly persons, appeared upon consideration of its details to have been extremely interesting, despite its structural simplicity.

174 The Tübatulabal say that they have always
[173] lived in the region where they are found today,
[171] but, as Dr. Lowie has pointed out,[1] the absence
[173] of migration myths is a characteristic of Shoshone mythology, to which Tübatulabal mythology is fairly closely allied.[2] However, other evidence, including the economic adaptation they have made to their peculiar semidesert, semi-Californian environment, indicates that the Tübatulabal are by no means newcomers to their area, although probably they originally entered it from the desert regions to the east.

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[1] Lowie, 233.

[2] Gayton, 1935a.

[p. 1(b)]

105 knowledge of the Basin cultures is as yet incom-
171 plete, so that the foregoing list of traits cannot be taken as a basis for the relative weighting of Basin influences, as against California ones, on Tübatulabal culture. Also, several of the above-mentioned traits, such as the ceremonial enclosure, the wooden frame cradle, walnut-shell dice games, are also found among South Central and Southern California tribes, but, because they probably have had their provenience in the Basin (Kroeber, Handbook, 535, 540, 655), they are included in the foregoing list.

Some of the (South) Central California traits noted for the Tübatulabal are the rejection of all reptiles as food, looped stirrer for acorn mush, chewing of tobacco with lime, shell lime, leaching buckeye nuts, the bottleneck type of basket, bride purchase, clamshell money, unit of measure of such, and name for unit, mourning ceremony, clown, meat taboo with reciprocal washing and payments, swallowing of ants wrapped in eagle down, etc. This list could be appreciably extended, but has not been because of the lack of comparable material from the Basin.

Among the Southern California traits interwoven into the fabric of Tübatulabal culture are the use of asphalt, the coiled basketry cap, presence of steatite objects in area, the dying-god concept connected with the taking of jimsonweed, the application of lighted balls of furze to cure rheumatism, and, in historic times, the introduction of the horse. Direct contact with the Southern California Chumash is known to have occurred after the founding of San Buenaventura mission; whether there was much contact between the Tübatulabal and the Chumash before that time is questionable and seems, judging by some of the traits enumerated above, improbable.

●[177] From their contacts with tribes in the three areas mentioned above, the Tübatulabal borrowed, altered, and reshaped cultural traits, and gradually built up their own unique culture, the outlines of which as it existed at the beginning of the historic period have been only too imperfectly sketched in the following pages.

Turning now from the consideration of cultural elements shared by the Tübatulabal and their ethnic neighbors, the question arises whether there are any traits peculiar to the Tübatulabal alone, which can be assumed to have been formed within the group. Here our conclusions are always subject to revision by the addition of new data, but three traits deserve at this time specific mention. They are: the obtaining of lime from natural deposits, for chewing with tobacco; the manufacture of bottleneck-shaped jars from strung piñons; and the myth accounting for the sexual division of labor. None of these traits has been reported as occurring among tribes of the surrounding areas. But if we consider each of the three, we find that the claim of each to absolute uniqueness among the Tübatulabal is not free from doubt. The more usual way in which to obtain lime

128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dž	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ʒ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

[77]

197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tibatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
[197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
●177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[72] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of
[241] Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were removed with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[65] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

137 Storer, 11) all life zones, Lower Sonoran, Upper Sonoran, Transition, Canadian, Hudsonian, and Alpine-Arctic, represented in Tübatulabal-Palagewan area.

136 Fauna of area as whole also highly varied, but at present time several animal species Tübatulabal formerly used are either extinct or rare in foothill-valley areas. Jackrabbits, cottontails still abundant in these areas; blue squirrels numerous in foothills. In SM's father's time brown bears were "thick, like hogs" on floor of South Fork valley (SM). Prong-horned antelope (Antilocapra americana americana Ord.) formerly ranged in valley-foothill region, but have been extinct in Calif. since 1900 (Seton, 213, pl. 9). Mt. sheep or Nelson's bighorn (Ovis cervina nelsoni Merriam) formerly dwelt in foothills; California wapiti or dwarf elk (Cervus nannodes Merriam), which is found only in Kern co., Calif. (Anthony, 515), known to informants, but its range did not extend into Tübatulabal area (SM). Single species of deer found in area (SM); probably mule deer, also known as Rocky mt. mule deer or blacktailed deer (Odocoileus hemionus), primitive range of which, according to Seton, extended only into e. part of Tübatulabal area (Seton, 118, map 6), where it was hunted by Tübatulabal (Voegelin, 1935b, 227). Tübatulabal, however, also availed themselves of another species of deer, California mule deer (Odocoileus hemionus californicus) when they went W, beyond limits of their area, to gather acorns (SM).

Snowshoe rabbit (Lepus klamathensis), which lives in high Sierras, known to several informants.

Wild game birds of many varieties formerly plentiful in area; golden eagle nested in region; informants had seen bald eagles at Ventura, but none in Tübatulabal area.

311 Present economic status of group.- Several individuals have retained land granted them in 1893, 241 and cultivate small garden patches, 1/2-1 acre in extent, on their grants. Principal crops are corn, 511 beans, potatoes, tomatoes, peppers, wheat. Majority of young and middle-aged men work as cow- [463] boys and ranch hands on stock ranches in South Fork valley; women help men in cultivation of [462 garden patches, and often raise turkeys, chickens, 231] geese, chiefly for family use. In years when piñon crop is good, men, women, and children gather the [222] nuts for their own use and to sell. In 1933 SM was making hair ropes, leather riatas to sell, ● 177 cultivating garden; ES did a little beadwork, had garden, but relied on her husband, who worked on ranch, for support; LT and FP were being supported chiefly by LT's adult sons, who were ranch hands; MM worked occasionally on ranches, did road work at Bishop, etc. References to other types employment made in FP's, MM's autobiographies (p. 72; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). None of Tübatulabal, so far as I know, receive any annuities. Census data for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among

Census data NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

511 for 1932 showed there was marked tendency among
younger women to leave area and seek education,
●177 permanent employment in Los Angeles, Bakersfield;
167 young men, on other hand, tended to remain within area; this was probably because opportunities for employment at home more favorable for men than for women. Altogether, although present economic status of Tübatulabal is low, especially in wintertime, yet they are not on the whole an indigent group, but continue to be economically independent, as before white contact.

BASIC SUBSISTENCE

[241] Tübatulabal hunting-gathering group; all
forms agriculture lacking. Plant foods and game
511 formerly plentiful in valley-foothill regions
(all informants); foods most frequently mentioned
222 by informants are acorns and piñons, deer, rab-
224 bits, fish. No famine tales; among Tübatulabal
226 plant-food resources better than in many parts of Calif. because this group had double access within w. and e. limits of area to acorns, central Calif. staple, and piñon nuts, Great Basin staple food. As piñons biennial crop, presence of acorns in area greatly augmented food resources. Furthermore, maturing of piñons and acorns is not simultaneous but successive, acorns following piñons, so that Tübatulabal could, and did, take advantage of both crops in early and late fall.

221 Yearly food cycle.- February to May. Mescal,
222 yucca whipplei stalks, tender immature pods of
224 tree yuccas, various bulbs obtained in lower
226 foothills and floors of valleys by individuals. Cached piñons, acorns being used. Large, small game hunted; geese obtainable in March. Fishing done by groups during April, from confluence of Kern and South Fork of Kern downstream (fig. 1). Family groups might also go W to Tulare lake to "eat ducks and fish" at this time.

May. Small seeds plentiful on floor, lower foothills of valleys; green pine nuts from Digger pine, juniper berries gathered in foothills;
[512] green plants gathered; "people went out in large groups, leaving houses early in morning, returning in evening" (MM). Cached acorns, piñons still being used. Large, small game hunted, especially rabbits, in valleys and foothills; occasional camp-hunting, bulb-gathering expeditions E across Sierras to Indian Wells valley and Mohave desert. Some fishing during early May in augmented Kern.

June. Some small seeds still available, depending on relative lateness of season; raw tule roots growing around springs eaten; wild tobacco growing in valleys pruned. Stores of cached acorns, piñons nearing depletion. Rabbit drives with nets in valleys; birds, large game hunted; little fishing as rivers in full flood from melting snows.

[251] July to middle of August. Season par excellence for drying commodities; roots of rush

252 they gave a better flavor" (FP, ES, SM). For
824 roasting piñon cones, brush bed had to be of Artemisia tridentata Nutt. or A. cana Pursh; "you can't use any other kind; the cones get hard and won't open; with this kind they are soft, and open easily" (SM).

824 In his lifetime SM had experimented with 2
262 wild foods which proved unpalatable; one was cac-
813 tus, Opuntia basilans Engelm., flower receptacles of which he roasted but disliked because all fine hairy stickers could not be singed off and stuck to tongue; other was fruit of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK, which proved too "bitter"; this "never eaten" (FP).

262 Bulbs of wild onion, Allium peninsulare Lemmon
824 and A. hyalinum Curran, and wild garlic, A. lacunosum Watson, not eaten (SM, FP), although leaves, stalks, heads were used. Brodiaea bulbs (hocal), Brodiaea capitata Benth., B. synandra (Hel.)
[171] Jepson, foothill floral area, not eaten; first variety important for Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 245). Seeds of redberry (ču·nal), Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia (Kell.) Greene, and coffeeberry (opo·bul), R. californica cuspidata (Greene) Wolf, foothill floral area, rejected as food; first-mentioned variety characterized as "berries fox eats," second as "no good; bitter" (SM).

262 Animals accessible to Tübatulabal, but re-
825 jected as food, include so-called "wolf," probably
136 desert coyote, Canis estor Merriam (tïba·ič) and (California ?) coyote (išt), because they "smell bad," fox (iklo·bal), skunk (ponihw), weasel (u·ga·bič), snakes, which included rattlesnake (šïmïnt), water snake (tuhat), gopher snake (tubapïl), king snake (pokpo·go·nal), red racer (pišu·gat), lizard (šikol), bat (paca·wal), frogs (wo·hna·l, wa·ga·išt, large and small variety), land crab (ï·ba·kunt) which is "poisonous like a snake" (SM), turkey vulture (yo'olapï·n), which "smells bad," crow (akapišt), whose "meat is no good," roadrunner (ïihyïmbišt) who "eats lizards," hawk (lapa'apï·l), kingfisher, owls which included barn owl (še·gapišt), screech owl (tu·klu··lu), horned owl (muhumbišt), burrowing owl (pogoh), bluebird (a·ṣayibišt), meadowlark (u·ša·l), because "people liked them, felt sorry for them" (FP), woodpecker (ču·lušt), and yellowhammer, because they eat piss ants (MM), tobacco worms (pi'a·gïnt), earthworms (tuha·wal), grasshoppers (ka'awï·t) and other worms, grubs, in-
[171] sects (SM, FP). Horses not eaten; neighboring Koso on desert ate them (FP, SM).

Animal foods concerning which there were differences of opinion on whether edible or inedible included: grizzly bears (u·nal) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), golden eagle (a·šawït) eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), dogs (pukabišt) eaten (SM, PN) not eaten (FP), sandhill and whooping cranes (wa·šal) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), woodpeckers (culust) eaten (FP) not eaten (SM), turtles (ko·yo·t)
● [177] eaten (SM) not eaten (FP), eggs (pompt) eaten (FP) "not eaten before white man came" (SM).

349 springs. In early morning 2 men hid inside blind;
224 as birds, small game came to water one man shot them, other went outside to gather them in. This done chiefly on piñon expeditions. Traps, blinds, etc., used especially on camp-hunting expeditions, when men, women went E to desert in small groups to camp for week or so and gather food (SM; Voegelin, 1935 b, 211).

223 Waterfowl shot with bow and arrow; mud hens when very fat "couldn't fly; it was easy to shoot
[373] them" (SM). Lighted torches, made from sticks on which pitch had been smeared, waved under trees where quail roosting at night; as birds flew down they were easily clubbed. Inflammable brush never piled up and fired to attract waterfowl; live or stuffed birds not used as decoys.

252 Preparation of animal food.- Deer, other large game skinned while warm as it lay on ground; incisions made with stone knife as among Havasupai (Spier, 1928, 111); skin removed with knuckles of closed hand; "not much fat left on hide when it was skinned this way" (SM). Entire deer utilized; meat, guts laid directly on live coals to broil; meat never eaten raw, preferred "half done." Bones
[887] roasted, cracked, and marrow extracted. Old people with few teeth given liver (nï·man), which they pounded in small mortars or on flat rock. Flesh of other large game also either broiled on coals or stewed in clay pots; birds gutted (not gutted, MM), and plucked, roasted in ashes or impaled on stick and roasted over fire. Rabbits skinned, gutted, and broiled on coals, roasted in ashes, or stewed. Raccoons, of which Tübatulabal "ate lots," squirrels, woodrats gutted, hair singed off, roasted whole in hot ashes. All small game removed from ashes with "any kind of a stick." Deer head roasted in pit oven (šo·li·l, hole). Hole dug in ground [illegible] and bottom lined with flat rocks heated [illegible] fire; head, unwrapped, denuded of horns, p[illegible] pit, covered with hot flat rock and pit s[illegible] with sand or earth. Pit
•[177] opened 12-14 hours later; head generally put in around sundown, taken out and eaten next morning. Cow heads now occasionally roasted in this way.

226 Fish and mollusks.- Fish, both fresh and dried,
131 of importance in Tübatulabal diet. Obtainable in South Fork of Kern r., augmented and unaugmented Kern, streams such as Erskine creek, former lakes in South Fork valley, mt. lakes in hinterland. Fish (kuyu·l) included trout (ha'ayal), said to be native in mt. creeks (SM, FP), whitefish or bullheads (co·h), suckers (nimal), catfish (kaŋa·ganan), minnows (ko'oši'). Whitefish caught in irrigation ditches 30 yrs. ago so large that "when a man carried one over his shoulders, the tail of the fish scraped the ground" (FM); MM said man could hardly lift some of fish caught in corrals (below) and FP commented on how large fish were formerly.

Fresh-water mussels (čono', twins), which Gifford suggests are probably Anodonta oregonensis,

252 Mortar and pestle or grinding slab and rub stone
412 used in preparing different types plant food.
Mortars (pahal) included pit mortars, which were depressions 2-10 in. deep, 3-5 in. wide in level or gently sloping granite outcrops (Kroeber, [773] Handbook, 524, pl. 45). Manufacture of pit mortars attributed to Coyote, but fact recognized that mortar holes enlarged with use until at depth of 10 in. they became unusable.

412 Portable stone mortars (ku·pahal) from 6-35 in.
322 in total diameter; made by pecking out depression
324 in round soft gray stone with harder, pointed rock (SM). Small stone mortars readily transportable; taken on piñon expeditions. Large wooden portable mortars (ku·pahal) of Yokuts type (Kroeber, Handbook, 524, pl. 45) made from hard wood, oak (SM), juniper (FP); bowl burnt out and interior smoothed with rough rock. These latter "easier to make than stone mortars" and commonly used around home, but were too large to take on trips. Basketry hopper used. Pestles (poho'owal) for all types mortars were roughly cylindrical, granite or slate rocks, picked up in river beds, used as found; length of pestles varied from 5-20 in., width from 2 1/2-5 in., depending on size of mortar.

412 Grinding slab (mana·l) oval or roughly rec-
324 tangular piece of granite or black slate, from 14-20 in. long, 10-15 in. wide, and 2-4 in. thick; used on one side only; grinding surface flat or slightly concave. Suitable slabs fairly abundant in area, and woman always kept one such in house, leaning up against wall. With slab, either small ovoid rub stone (takibit) 3-4 in. long, about 3 1/2 in. wide, 2 in. thick, flat on top and bottom surfaces (Gifford and Schenck, 92, pl. 31), or larger stone of same shape (takin) used; these picked up in river beds. Long cylindrical mullers not used. When in use, grinding slab set up with flat rock, about 2 in. thick, placed under upper end of slab, so that slab slanted downward, away from operator. Lower end of slab rested on flat basketry tray.

412 All informants familiar with 3-legged metate
●177 and horned muller (Steward, 1933, 341, pl. 5g),
252 because one such introduced among them by former Jesus Miranda, Mexican who married Petra Miranda, Tübatulabal woman; this metate used primarily for grinding corn (FP). However, present-day Tübatulabal ordinarily pound parched corn or wheat into meal in pit mortars, following older pattern.

252 Cooking techniques included stone boiling, boiling in clay pots, parching with live coals on basketry tray, parching in fire, roasting on coals, in ashes, in pit ovens, on spits, in fire. General pattern of native cookery, which resulted in economy of effort, was to apply heat only once to any variety of food intended to be eaten in cooked state. Thus small seeds which had already been parched, and previously roasted piñons, after they were ground into meal, were merely mixed with cold water when made up into gruel (u'u·gil); neither seed nor piñon meal recooked by stone boiling (or any other method), parched foods being

251 sweets made from cane, wild grapes, etc. Acorns
262 and piñons on other hand required shorter drying periods than any of above-mentioned foods, and furthermore, after gathering them, drying could be postponed for few days, if necessary, without danger of their spoiling.

312 Control of water.- Tübatulabal controlled water to degree of making ponds (pacu'a·t) near sweat houses; these ponds large enough for person to jump into after taking sweat bath. Ponds dug out with stick (nahat, also used for cane); water run into them from near-by spring. Springs also dug out to obtain drinking water, but no boxing in of sides, as is done now (SM).

312 Patches of wild seeds never irrigated as among
●177 neighboring Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 247). An irrigation ditch, course of which is still traceable, formerly brought water from Canebrake canyon to former Indian settlement at mouth of Chimney canyon in arid e. end of South Fork valley. This ditch constructed by Koso Indian refugees who settled in Tübatulabal territory at this spot ca. 1863. At time of its construction white settlers had been ranching in South Fork valley nearly 20 years and ditch seems obviously native borrowing of white culture item.

231 Domesticated and captive animals.- Regarding
[262] possession of dogs (pungul, pet; pukubišt, specifically dog), and their use as food, PN, oldest informant, stated Tübatulabal had dogs and roasted them to eat, as Yokuts did (Kroeber, Handbook, 526), before whites entered region. She described native dogs as "small, white, short-haired"; denied they were procured from Mexicans or other outside sources.

231 SM, however, said Tübatulabal did not possess
262 dogs until whites brought them in. His statements
177 at different times on use of dog for food contradictory; once he said Tübatulabal roasted and ate dogs after latter introduced, but subsequently stated dogs never eaten. He knew of use of dogs by Yokuts, stating: "The Bakersfield Indians always had dogs and ate them; they'd buy dogs from each other for (the equivalent of) $2 apiece." FP said Tübatulabal "had dogs pretty early, but got them from whites; after they got dogs they did not eat them." These statements reconcilable because they probably reflect cultural divergency between Palagewan and Tübatulabal bands; Palagewan, situated nearest Yokuts, in all likelihood most affected by Yokuts customs. PN's mother member of Palagewan group; PN's second husband a Yokuts; in discussing dog PN probably had Palagewan in mind, although this point not specifically stated at time. Reason for SM's confused statements may also have been this cultural divergency, but in statement of FP, whose affiliations lay with Tübatulabal and Koso to E, we have clear-cut denial of trait.

000 Cave, now closed, on Jesus Miranda's ranch

231 his "pet." Regarding coyotes SM said occasionally coyote pups caught at den and kept tied up near house, being fed deer, rabbit meat, but they "weren't kept for very long, because they ran away the first chance they had." PN denied coyotes were ever kept.

●177 231 Horses (pungun, his pet; term also used for sheep and one of words used for dog) procured by Tübatulabal and Palagewan in trade from San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara mission Indians previous to advent of whites in area (SM).

[422 436] Around 1800 SM's father owned 10 head of horses, worth $10 apiece in clamshell currency. Occasionally groups of Koso Indians from E stole horses from Tübatulabal and drove them out to desert to

[262] eat them; Tübatulabal did not eat horses (SM). Oxen, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, cats, geese, ducks, chickens obtained after whites settled in area.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 Clothing.- Men, women wore double-apron skirts (nawi·l), which fell 1-8 in. below knee. Skirt consisted of 2 rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin (antelope skin, Garcés, 282), both same size, laced together at sides with buckskin thongs (yu·wil). Back apron was attached to leather belt or had thongs at both upper sides which tied in front; front apron had similar thongs which tied in back, "like 2 kitchen aprons" (FP). Some skirts plain, others had 1 1/2 in. buckskin fringe around bottom, also short bead fringes. If worn in rainy weather skirts became stiff, had to be rubbed and pulled between hands to soften skin. Skirt lasted 2, 3 years; usually one such garment "kept for best; go visiting, put it on" (FP). Made by women. Skirts of tules, fibers not worn. Leggings not used.

Breechclout (talu·mat) consisted of square piece of tanned buckskin folded, brought between thighs, held up around waist by leather or braided milkweed fiber belt (mohkat) tied in back.

[841 773] Breechclout, together with skirt, worn by women when menstruating or in cold weather (SM); myth mentions woman wearing breechclout as protection against Coyote's raping her (C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). In 19th century breechclout worn generally by men, boys, but not used by them aboriginally (SM).

[854] Children went naked, but in cold weather wore double-apron skirt; babies on cradles wrapped in cold weather in soft, well-tanned wildcat skins (mupipul) which had hair left on.

Rabbitskin blankets (wihnibi·l) worn draped over shoulders and held closed over chest with hand; such blankets "good for rainy weather" (SM); Garcés saw fur mantas (Garcés, 282). Vest which laced up front, made from single piece tanned buckskin with 2 slits for armholes cut in it, worn by men, women, children in winter (SM); sleeveless coat, consisting of front, back piece

302 [765] sun, woman bound string around head, hair rolled up to project over string, thus shading face. At death of husband woman burned back hair to neck length (Gayton, 1929, pl. 95a, b). Bulb of soaproot (ho·olo·hpi·l), Lathoe pomeridiana (DC) Raf., pounded, or roots Chenopodium californicum Wats. [824] [388] (ho·oha·l) pulverized by rubbing on rock, and [515] used for shampoos; later these and inside of fruit [296] of Cucurbita foetidissima HBK (ïihabï·l) used also to wash cotton clothes. Women brushed hair every day; Garcés comments (p. 282), "women . . . . take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (copéte)," probably referring to rolling up of hair to project over string (above). [515] Lice removed by washing hair with alkali (pi·šil) solution and letting powder stay on scalp for several days. At dances women put loose eagle [301] down in bangs. Children wore hair loose, girls of 5 having bangs.

303 Brush (wïŋït) made from fibrous outer sheath of soaproot; bulb dug in March-April when plant green, outer sheath removed, shredded, and 3 bunches of fibers, each 3/4 in. wide, 4-5 in. long, twined together at one end with native [413] string to form flat, narrow brush. This hairbrush similar to one women used when pounding meal, tobacco, except that mealing brush was wider, consisting of 4 bundles of fibers twined together. Museum specimen 1-19800 has fibers wrapped at lower end with sinew (?) to form triangular handle; said to have been "used for hair and flour." Porcupine tails, pine cones, pine needles never used for brushes.

302 Nails kept short by filing them on piece of rough rock, or else allowed to grow long, break off.

515 Both sexes bathed frequently, summer and winter, in pools at springs or in streams; "the young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while" (Garcés, 282).

301 Ornaments.- Necklaces of white clamshell disks (tugumbal) worn by women only, chiefly at dances. Small concave white shell beads, olivella shells, long shell cylinders (hobo'apïn) made from columnelia of giant clam (?), and in historic times [177] red, blue, black glass beads used in combination [439] for necklaces (pl. 6b). Both shell and glass beads, shell cylinders obtained from Chumash, who made shell beads, and also to some extent from Yokuts.

Nose plug (mupipugišt) made from shell cylinder; 2-3 in. long, 1/4 in. thick; worn by women only "when they danced." Women also wore strings of small clamshell beads in nose (FP). Earrings (naŋgawili'at) consisting of short strings of clamshell beads worn by women only. Bracelets (mašabu·nun) of clamshell or other beads worn by young girls. Men "never wore anything" in way of bead ornaments (SM, FP).

302 Facial decoration.- Paint made from red earth (yahawa·l) mixed with water, smeared over face by

515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed [342] tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524 171] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no ●[177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round 527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en- 535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

372 Fire drill.- Hearth (a·da·wa·yat) for fire-drill made from piece of dry cottonwood root (utu·lan wi·šin) from Populus fremontii; single hole in hearth; powder drained into channel leading to edge of hearth. Drill (a·da·wa·yišt) 2-2 1/2 ft. long, made from stalk of Baccharis glutinosa Pers. or B. viminea DC. Shredded cottonwood roots used for tinder.

413 Arrow straightener.- Arrow straightener
[171] (u·gišt) similar to Cahuilla straightener (Kroeber, Handbook, 530, pl. 49d); made from
324 soft rock (steatite?; slate, FC), obtained near Chimney canyon in Tübatulabal area. Central groove (loho·wi·nil) and incised lines on top surface of straightener cut with flint knife.
[171] SM's straightener, duplicate of steatite specimen from s. San Joaquin valley (Gifford and Schenck, pl. 17o), 3 in. long, 1 1/2 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. high at center, 1 in. wide at ends; single transverse groove 1/2 in. deep cut across top center, dividing convex top surface into 2 halves. Series of diagonal parallel lines, incised to depth of 1/16 in., cover one of halves of top surface; on other half series of 11 short parallel ridges cut out in low relief; incised lines and serrated ridges used for same purpose
[171] as noted among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 530). FC's straightener round, with 2 grooves; lacked incised lines, ridges; specimen 1-19802,4 in. long, 1 1/2 in. high, has single groove, no lines; specimen 1-19803 is 4 in. long, 1/2 in. high, has 2 grooves; SM said some little individual variation in size, markings on straighteners, depending on man's preferences.

413 Netting shuttle.- No information obtainable;
286 SM thought some variety of shuttle formerly used.

FIRE

221 In winter, small fire inside dwelling served for cooking, heating, and lighting house at night;
372 in summer, cooking fire often built outside un-
373 der shade. Women also often cooked acorn mush at spot where they leached meal. During summer hand games played at night around fire, outside in open; brush enclosures illuminated at night by fire built in center; sweat house heated, illu-
[756] minated by open fire. Shamans used small open fire during shooting contests. Torches used for hunting quail (p. 13), but not for lighting.

372 Firemaking.- Fire made by men only, with simple hand drill (supra); man knelt (Kroeber,
462 Handbook, 822, pl. 78); SM said it took from
177 15-20 minutes to make fire with drill, but this seems unlikely. In 19th century Tübatulabal learned to make fire from Mexicans by striking upper edges of 2 white quartz strike-a-lights (ki·li·l) together (fig. 7a); "the Mexicans used one of these pieces of stone against a piece of

177
372 steel, but we used the 2 pieces of stone and no
462 steel" (SM). Quartz for these strike-a-lights
[439] obtained from Koso Indians at Koso (FP).

Firewood.- Small trunks of willow (ha·l),
313 Salix laevigata Bebb., branches of Fresno tree
(a·wilibĭ·l), Fraxinus oregana Nutt., stream
alder (pawiču·l), Alnus rhombifolia Nutt., and
dry oak used chiefly for firewood (kutuga't);
cottonwood (u·'ut, generic name for tree), "too
light" (SM). Firewood broken into 3 to 3 1/2-ft.
lengths for carrying in pack basket; women
[462 packed on back loads of slightly longer lengths,
482] but "not too heavy" (FP); men brought in larger
pieces on shoulder.

GLUE, PITCH, AND ASPHALT

381 Glue.- Deer horns boiled in small amount of
water, in pot, to obtain glue (a·wadin pa·hn,
horn water); used to apply sinew backing to bows.

314 Pitch.- Several varieties pitch (ša·nun) used
824 for different purposes; pitch from Digger pine
415 applied to soles of moccasins to make them wear
longer (FP); pitch from bull pine smeared over
torches used in quail hunting. Basketry water
bottles made watertight by putting handful of
red earth of same variety used for face paint,
plus lump of piñon-pine pitch inside finished
bottle, together with quantity of heated pebbles
about size of person's thumb. Hot pebbles shaken
vigorously inside basket for 5-10 minutes, thus
causing pitch to melt, combine with red earth,
and coat inside of container. Hot melted pitch
also smeared over outside of bottle with small
stick; when it had cooled slightly red earth,
mixed with little water, was smeared on top and
mixed in with pitch coating. The red earth, used
in combination with the pitch, made water "taste
sweet"; if pitch alone used, water had "bitter"
taste.

Pitch or gum (ya·bul), obtained from grease-
wood, used to fill walnut-shell dice (FP).

317 Asphalt.- Lumps of asphalt brought into area
[439 by "the Indians from around Ventura, when the
574] latter came up for piñons. The Tübatulabal also
visited at Ventura, and one of the things they
brought back from the ocean was asphalt" (SM).
This commodity used in variety of ways, some of
which were: to attach prong to shaft of harpoon,
to attach bone point to fish hook, to cement
foreshaft in cane mainshaft of arrow, and socket
arrowheads into foreshaft, to secure knife blade
in handle, to attach basket hopper to mortar.
Asphalt also used to smear over fishlines made
of native twine, and lumps of it served as knob
handles for bone, cactus spine awls. Asphalt was
softened by melting; often applied with small
stick. Gifford and Schenck (p. 53) also note
presence of asphalt beds on surface in hills SW

281 on thigh immediately and ends tied together to
286 make long strip which was stretched between 2 trees to dry for 2-3 days (SM). FP said whole skins dried first, then cut into strips which were rolled, then tied together.

a b

Fig. 10. Rabbitskin blanket weaving frame. a, model of frame, with beginning of warp setup shown (x); b, completed warp setup.

To set up warp (fig. 10), 4 posts 3 ft. high set in ground several feet apart to form square or rectangle of same size as blanket would be; length of native twine tied around post, near top, then run around outside of 4 posts; when it was brought back to starting point twine was passed under and over string on 2 opposite sides of frame until complete warp set up. Rabbitskin weft element then tied to warp at one corner and twined under and over warp threads. SM, who set up model of frame and warp, did not know whether weft was tied to each warp at point of intersection. Blankets used as capes, bed coverings. Squirrelskin, feather blankets not made (SM, FP, PN).

531 Beadwork formerly lacking (SM); ES had learned
●177 to make beaded hat bands on bow loom (Steward, 1933, 273, fig. 6) from her sister-in-law, an Owens Valley Paiute who occasionally visited among Tübatulabal.

286 Nets.- Nets made, used by men; manufactured from 2-ply native twine. Rabbit net was 200 ft. long, 3-3 1/2 ft. wide, with 3-in. loops; man's
[171] carrying net similar to Koso net (Kroeber, Handbook, 591, fig. 53): was tied at both ends with twine and had 2 ends tied together; net carried over shoulder (SM). Fish nets, according to FP, who could not remember names for them, were of 2 types (p. 14), but details of their manufacture could not be obtained.

283 Pack strap.- Pack strap (pongon) made from
482 native rope with forehead band (le·winiŝt) which was flat, 1 in. wide, made from 4 strands of native twine. Used with pack basket.

Twine, cordage.- String (u·wil) made from in-
[171] ner fibers of milkweed shoots (ma·wil), Apocynum cannabinum L., foothill floral area, as among Northfork Mono (Gifford, 1932 b, 28); twine always 2-ply, but of varying thickness depending on use for which it was intended. As length of cord grew when it was being rolled out on thigh,

237 cular mat (či·gon) 3 in. wide, 1 1/2 in. thick, made of shredded native twine. Mat hung up on tree to dry; then stored away; when used, mat soaked in warm water and broken into several pieces; brains sank to bottom of container, shredded twine skimmed off surface of water with hands and thrown away. Brains then stirred into water and hide put in.

281 415 Sacks, purses, flat hides.- Sacks (ma·šat) made from untanned deer, antelope, coyote, wildcat skins. Skin removed whole from carcass by cutting it around neck, lower legs, and anus and peeling it off; skin then turned hair side out, except those used for quivers, and anal and leg openings sewn up with native string, using bone awl. Skin then set up on end, loose dirt poured in through neck hole and skin left to dry for 2-3 days. When dry, dirt poured out and sack ready to use for carrying acorns, piñons, arrows, or for storing food, shell money, etc.

● [177] Purse (mu·gulat) of weaselskin used in post-white times to carry silver dollars. Specimen 1-19804, weaselskin purse, labeled "used for Indian money," consists of entire skin which is dehaired, tanned, turned inside out, left open at mouth; SM probably correct in denying such purses [436] used for shell money as latter was kept strung, coiled and any large amount would be too bulky for such small container.

[171] Bear hides tanned with hair left on; scraped, brains rubbed in as among Surprise Valley Paiute (Kelly, 119). Salt grass, cane laid on these tanned hides and flayed; occasionally, hides used as bed coverings.

RECEPTACLES

415 Besides using basketry and rawhide containers, Tübatulabal also made pottery and horn receptacles and apparently used imported steatite ware to slight extent.

323 [42] Pottery.- Despite fact that "all the women used to make pots" (ES, FP), no informant could manufacture one for me, nor are any pots (ka·ʂul) now extant except one small mended specimen (fig. 8c), provenience of which is doubtful. However, FP had seen her grandmother make pots and SM remembered process sufficiently well to describe it briefly, as follows.

[317] Red clay (yahawa·l), obtainable from several deposits on floor of South Fork valley, used for pots; ES pointed out one deposit of clay on knoll below village site no. 9 (fig. 11) in field belonging to Charles E. Andress, 1/4 mile E of road leading to village site; another deposit near village site no. 8. Clay dug, finely pounded in pit mortar and mixed with water into dough; no binding material added (FP, SM). Lump of clay flattened into disk with hand, set down on board or, formerly, basketry sifter; roll of clay about

T 323 [171] as thick as thumb laid around upturned edge of circular base and one roll after another used to build up side of pot as among Yokuts (Gayton, 1929, 242). Inside and outside of pot smoothed with fingers only (SM, FP); twig, chip, or acorn husk "might have been used a little" (FP), but small polishing stone such as Yokuts employed (ibid., 243) not used, nor were fingers dipped in syrupy substance while smoothing pot as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 267). After pot shaped and smoothed it was sun-dried and then put on "a blazing fire made from any kind of wood"; pot allowed to get "red hot" (FP); firing caused clay to turn gray-black (SM, FP). T [171] After cooling, pot ready for use; coating acorn mush (Gayton, 1929, 245) not given it. SM had seen Tübatulabal pots shaped like middle and right-hand specimen in upper row of Yokuts pots pictured in Kroeber's Handbook, 530, pl. 51, but had never seen incised lines, such as those on Yokuts specimen, on any Tübatulabal pottery.

T 415 Pots were used for boiling meat, small game, whole piñons and buckeye nuts, tobacco stalks; T [276] FP said that occasionally acorn mush cooked in them although it was usually stone boiled. Pottery pipes not made (SM), cane cigarette pipes being used for smoking; FC had seen old Koso T [532] woman make clay pipes for her own use. Little girls sometimes made crude unbaked (SM) clay [857] dolls (a·na·wišti·l) from red clay; SM thought such to have been aboriginal; children also occasionally made animal figures of clay, baked them (Voegelin, 1935 b, 227). Although pottery generally made by women, MM as boy had tried to make pots, but his cracked when heated, whereas "old-time pots were so hard they wouldn't break if you threw them down or hit them with a rock" T (MM).

171 Contiguous distribution of this type of pottery limited to a few Calif. and Great Basin tribes (Gayton, 1929, 248, fig. 8; Steward, 1933, 269).

T 321 Horn objects.- Mt. sheep horn used as container for pounded tobacco and lime (see section on Tobacco); spoons (ta·mil) "shaped like a kitchen spoon" were made from antelope horn, using base of horn for bowl; "men and women used spoons for eating acorn mush" (SM); FM denied use of spoons.

T 324 Steatite objects.- Stone olla, 3 ft. high, "carved out of rock," was mentioned by FM, who said his father had found it among boulders on C T hill behind Jesus ranch in South Fork valley 40 yrs. ago. FM could give no further details. 756 Small steatite bowls and tubular pipes with ● 177 bird-bone mouthpieces (pl. 1a) used as part of [32] rain doctor's outfit. Outfit pictured, now in possession of SM, inherited by him from his stepfather, Francisco Sasterray, Tejon Indian (probably Chumash); this makes these objects foreign importations among Tübatulabal; however SM said

756 latter possessed similar objects, used for rain
177 making in early days, but that such "were buried with owner when he died."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Musical instruments few, simple; 3 varieties rattles used; drum (tamburin, Sp.) lacking; SM had made one at Tejon and brought it home, but "Tübatulabal didn't use them." Musical rasp also lacking.

Rattles.- Split-stick rattle (ka·ba·ba·yništ) made from peeled stalk dry elderberry (ku·hupīl), Sambucus velutina D. & H., foothill floral area, split down center; split ends both same length; total length of specimen made by SM 18 in., length of split section 14 in., handle 4 in. Made by men; used at dances to accompany dance songs (SM).

[171] Cocoon rattle (pa·ɣo·alginišt) similar to Maidu rattle (Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37b); consisted of slender stick about 12 in. long with 4-6 cocoons (či·ko·lolondiŋ hani·n, butterfly's house) tied on upper end. Slit made in cocoon at one end, 2-3 small pieces rock put in, slit end tied with twine and cocoon attached with twine to stick. Old men used cocoon rattles to accompany songs they sang softly to themselves at night after going to bed (SM).

Dewclaw rattle (ša·lišt) consisted of 8 dewclaws (ša·lu·n) threaded through short buckskin thongs knotted at one end and tied to stick about 5 in. long. When rattle shaken, end of stick to which dewclaws attached held downward. This rattle used by rain doctor.

Whistle.- Quill whistle made "from a big feather cut like a [cane] pipe," mentioned by FP; her father had used such (see p. 73). PN agreed quill whistle used, but neither informant could remember name for this whistle or give further details; SM knew nothing about it.

Boys and girls made whistles from short hollow sections of Eriogonum nudum Dougl., foothill floral area (šiko·nišpu·l).

Flute.- Flute (lu·lu'išt) made of peeled elderberry stalk from which pith had been poked out with stick; about 26 in. long; had 6 holes, first of which was 8 in. below mouth end, other 5 spaced at 1 1/2-in. intervals beyond it toward distal end; end blown. Man played flute to himself, for own amusement during daytime; did not take it into sweat house to play; young men sometimes played it when courting (SM).

Musical bow.- Musical bow (pi·bi·wi·ništ, also name for jew's-harp) used occasionally, "not very much"; man plucked bowstring of hunting bow with index finger as he held one end of bow in mouth (SM).

249 been wrapped piled up around sides of canvas to form windbreak and barrier against straying fowls. By middle of July, or 10 days after being unwrapped, tobacco considered sufficiently dry; it was gathered up from canvas and it almost filled 50-lb. flour sack.

Next step was to pound tobacco. Early one morning FP took the tobacco, round coiled basketry tray, and small brush, up to SM's rancheria where ES lived, and 2 women prepared to pound tobacco in pit mortar holes on rancheria. Two youths cut some scrub oak and made rude arbor almost completely encircling pit mortar bed, and in this shady workplace FP and ES sat down, as described by Gifford (Gifford, 1932 b, 24), and started to pound tobacco, using for pestles rude boulders 12-15 in. long, 3-4 in. thick, which were at mortar bed. Each woman put double handful of tobacco into hole and pounded with steady up and down motion, pestle being grasped near its top end with both hands and not being lifted more than 12 in. above mortar hole. When tobacco leaves well pulverized powdered tobacco scooped out of mortar with both hands and piled up on basket tray, which was shaken gently from side to side with occasional flip up and down, until coarse and fine particles were separated. Fine portion was put in empty sack, coarser powder returned to mortar hole for additional pounding. What loose tobacco fell around edges of mortar hole brushed back into hole with soaproot brush; later when pounding finished, basketry tray also dusted off with brush. When all tobacco had been pounded into olive-drab-colored powder which was about as fine as snuff, total amount half-filled 50-lb. flour sack. This work took ES and FP 2 hours to accomplish; pounding tobacco not considered by either of them as hard work as pounding acorns, "because tobacco is dry" (ES).

Within next 2-3 days, FP made tobacco into balls and plugs (pa·mil). An infusion of whole fresh tobacco plants, which she gathered near her home, was obtained by boiling the plants in water 1-2 hours, "until the water was black, like coffee" (ES). This infusion was then strained, allowed to cool, and added to powdered tobacco in sufficient quantity to make stiff dough, which was kneaded with hands, and shaped into oval balls 3-4 in. long and little less than 3 in. thick, or into plugs 5 x 5 x 1 in. Plugs made by putting dough into 4-sided, top and bottomless form, similar to those used in making
● [177] adobe bricks, which rested on flat piece of wood; use of these forms not aboriginal, all tobacco having formerly been made up into balls. Balls and plugs were then set on plank in sunny place to dry for about 10 days; when thoroughly dry tobacco ready to be used. In final form, crop
435 gathered by ES, FP, and LT yielded 10 plugs, 14 balls; ES given as her share 5 balls. Both balls
[438 and plugs valued in 1932 at $3 apiece; constituted, both in aboriginal times and to some ex-
439] tent today, article of intra- and intertribal trade (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

103 31. palage·wan, unaugmented and augmented Kern r.

32. ho·hlam, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern, between Kernville and Cowell creek.

33. holo·'odap, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern r., between Cowell and Bull Run creeks.

34. lohlam, Bull Run canyon.

35. šehnalom, fishing site in canyon of unaugmented Kern N of Bull Run creek.

36. tumabit, rock shelter with pictographs on it in Bartolas country; general term for small rock shelter.

37. palnagoy nagoyapul, water running like a snake; Taylor meadow.

38. i·wakanum, Long valley.

39. u·u·laup, Kern lake.

40. u·twa·bit, Bald mt. Cf. 41.

41. kala·kawp, Mt. Whitney; Kroeber, Handbook, 607, gives Otoavit (cf. 40) for Mt. Whitney.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

621 Bands.- Tübatulabal, Palagewan loosely organized in 2 bands, each band having its own chief and occupying, during winter months at least, naturally demarcated geographic areas in adjacent valley regions of South Fork of Kern r. and Kern r., respectively. Although the 2 bands were politically discrete entities, there was strong feeling of relationship between them, and frequent visiting back and forth between members for purposes of seed gathering, fishing, hunting, and social pursuits. Intermarriages between Tübatulabal and smaller Palagewan band [578] frequent; SM knew of no serious disputes between 2 bands; on other hand he gave no accounts of leaguing of bands to fight common enemy.

361 621 Hamlets and household groups.- Each band was composed of a number of family groups; these latter were mobile units during greater part of yr., but in winter settled down in a number of semipermanent hamlets where wood, water plentiful, mainly on edge of valleys or in lower foothills near springs or mouths of small creeks at elevation (hereafter abbreviated to elev.) between 2500-4000 ft.; a few hamlets were, however, situated on floor of South Fork valley. Locations of Tübatulabal and Palagewan hamlets ca. 1860 (fig. 11) and estimated population (hereafter abbreviated to est. pop.) of each as given below, obtained from SM. It will be noted that first 3 sites, in e. end of South Fork valley, [177 167] are of non-Tübatulabal hamlets; these represent Koso influx into Tübatulabal area within historic period (see section on Property, Trade, Division of Labor). Asterisk denotes sites visited with informant; section, township, and range are from U.S. Geological Survey topographical sheet of the Kernville quadrangle.

584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'iin, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'iin,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-3 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575), fragment of tule matting with braided edge
• [177] (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï·l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bïšt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

622 "Little Bill" Chico, whose father was 1/2 Owens Valley Paiute 1/2 Tübatulabal, mother Tubatulabal (SM), former chief for Tübatulabal; SM did not know who preceded Chico, but was sure it was not Chico's father. Chico left no lineal descendants and named SM as his successor. For group of Koso in e. end of South Fork valley cumil, Mouse, former chief. For Palagewan on unaugmented Kern, koŝunye-he-hmk, nicknamed elemgil, Greedy, former chief; elemgil died before Chico and Mouse, and no successor to him was appointed; he was leader for Palagewan group only (FP, SM).

624 Of chiefs mentioned above, only the Palagewan chief, elemgil, had a messenger (tu·kwni·n); elemgil's messenger was Tejon Yokuts named Dick; when elemgil "wanted to make a fiesta, he told Dick to go tell everybody to come to it, and Dick would go to Tejon, Porterville; elemgil paid him to do this." At messenger's death, son inherited office (SM).

624 Clown and dance manager.- Among Tübatulabal, office of clown (hili'idac) hereditary, passing [838 from father to son; women, transvestites never 462] clowns. Clown present at face washings, mourning ceremonies; at latter he was "the-big boss" (LT), but also "went around talking crazy (not backward) at fiestas; he danced backward, too. He didn't care what he said, either to women or the chief; if the chief was no good the clown walked around saying so; then all the old men would get together and choose a new chief" (FP).

624 Among Palagewan hili'idac apparently served more as dance manager; "when elemgil had a burning, there was a hili'idac named ka·wičina there; he was the last hili'idac. Kawičina told the boys to make the brush enclosure for the fiesta; when the people arrived he showed them where to camp in the enclosure. He wasn't a clown; when the people wanted money from elemgil they got 2 Palagewan men to act as ka·dbapapul; these men were like clowns; one of them got ashes and put them on the other man's face; all over it; then elemgil gave them money" (SM). Further details of clown's duties given in text by MM (Voegelin 1935 b, 205, 219, 227; see too p. 69 this study).

761 Law, morality, manners, conduct.- Since all
756 deaths except those incurred during war believed
627 to have been caused either by witchcraft or poisoning, each death, violent or natural, constituted a murder, which was attributed to evil shaman or person possessing poison. Often shaman, poisoner killed by relatives of deceased, after they had obtained chief's permission; or chief [579 might take initiative, order such persons killed. 177] Violent deaths in brawls seldom if ever occurred in pre-white times because "serious fights didn't start very much at fiestas, over games, etc., as the people didn't get drunk" (SM). A shaman might boast on such occasions of his power to kill persons, but I have no account showing that this ever led to fights in which murder committed.

THERAPEUTICAL PRACTICES

757 General good health induced by sweat bathing, observing pregnancy, menstrual taboos, bathing in hot springs, taking some simple herb medicines, as salt-grass crystals in warm water every morning for laxative purposes, to clean out stomach. In sicknesses, before taking patient to shaman for treatment which partook of nature of religious ceremony herb medicines (ti·bo·hišt) might be administered by old man, woman. Such persons often doctored ailing members of family, without any singing ceremony; "anyone who knew the right medicine for an ailment would do this; 759 sometimes a herbalist would be sent for to treat 757 a sick person; in that event he'd be paid. People learned about the medicines from their parents or grandparents, or a man would know about a medicine and other people would pay him to tell them. • [177] They learned a lot about medicines from the Mexicans, too. Now the witches have spoiled all the plant medicines except jimsonweed; they can't spoil that because it's too strong" (SM). In situations where shamans failed to effect cure, herb medicines might be administered after shamanistic treatment.

757 Ants also used as medicine; charms sometimes applied to body to relieve pain.

Plant, insect remedies.- Following plant, insect remedies, unless initialed otherwise, given by SM.

757 Piece jimsonweed root (mo·mo·ht), Datura
824 meteloides HBK., weed, about 12 in. long, dug,
278 washed, macerated, set to soak for day in 2 qts. cold water; in evening water strained, given to patient, who had abstained from food, drink for 3 days and had cleaned out stomach every morning during fast with bitter drink made from roots of reise blanco. After taking dose patient fell into stupor which lasted 12-24 hrs.; during this time he was turned from one side to other; if he lay on his back or stomach he would fail to revive. FP's father blew whistle when giving her jimsonweed (see Autobiography of FP). While under influence drug patient might walk around, but was watched carefully; sometimes had visions (Voegelin, 1935 b, 215); SM imagined row of fence posts were dancers in feather costumes when he took drug; MM one time saw man who told him to take jimsonweed again in week; next time MM took it he saw white lizard drop from his shoulder, black one from his knee; when he awoke his rheumatism had disappeared. Sometimes patients, upon advice of person seen in stupor, drank jimsonweed 3 times before they were cured.

Before digging root plant addressed briefly; drink could not be administered in summer as "the roots are all right then, but when it's hot you want water; if you drink water and then drink jimsonweed, you get bloated right away" (SM). If drug taken without fasting at least 3 days, dose immediately vomited.

"people didn't Know about the man who
771 lived above the sun until the white men told them
776 about God" (SM). Concept of dying benefactor was,
[[71]] however, part of religious belief and was, more-
773 over, related to jimsonweed complex; "a long time ago Jimsonweed was a man; his name was mo·mo·ht. He said he was going to turn into a plant and if any man was sick or broke he should dig his roots and drink him; then Jimsonweed would give him
[754] something" (SM). Mention has already been made of belief that witches are not powerful enough to destroy efficacy of this plant. But aside from addressing formula to jimsonweed when digging roots, there seems never to have been any form of worship addressed to benefactor. Neither SM, FP had heard of Chungichnich.

794 A few other details of religious belief, how-
771 ever, also seem to relate clearly to so-called jimsonweed cult and 6-god system known among
[[71]] tribes to W and S (Kroeber, Handbook, 623). SM said that woman, named mane·sa, lived at aykeček,
776 "across the ocean" with 5 brothers who took care
[823] of her; "whenever this woman turned over in her sleep, the earth quaked." When FP's father administered jimsonweed to FP "he blew on a whistle, so that 2 old men and an old woman who lived on the other side of the world could hear him" (see Autobiography of FP). Informants could not remember names of any of above-mentioned siblings,
[757 save woman's. Among Tübatulabal jimsonweed ritual
789] and pantheon referred to above seem to have existed in attentuated form, with emphasis, so far as use of jimsonweed goes, on its medicinal properties and its use in obtaining supernatural power.

773 When questioned, SM said somewhat dubiously
774 that tobacco had also once been a man, and had also spoken to the people, but that no formula was ever addressed to him. In Yokuts mythology,
[[71]] according to Dr. Stanley Newman, tobacco personified, and has personal name.

773 Coyote culture hero and trickster; as culture hero he causes earth to be remade after flood (Voegelin, 1935 b, 209), obtains water and fire for people, regulates division of labor (ante), causes death to come into world (Voegelin, ibid). He opposes Eagle, who is also chief (ibid., 207) during mythical age. As trickster, Coyote plays usual rôle of liar, cheat, dupe (ibid., 199, 209, 211). Informants, volunteering comments on Coyote's character, mentioned how puzzling they found his dual rôle; "Coyote--he's bad, mean; but he's good, smart, too; I don't know how that is" (MM).

774 Spirits.- Animals could "hear everything that
776 was said"; this belief extended to all flora as well, but differences of opinion expressed on whether it applied to inanimate objects such as rocks; SM said it did not, MM (ibid.) asserted rocks "tell (Bear) everything." However, rocks, streams seem not so much supernatural in themselves, but to serve as dwelling places for supernatural beings; entire region in which Tübatulabal lived peopled with many varieties of such beings,

754 Besides foregoing practices, witches might
278 also use poison (muśmal); one of witches at Onyx
177 rancheria said to possess poison which she ob-
824 tained at Tule from Yokuts, among whom poisoners active (Gayton, 1930, 390); FP mentions 2 cases poisoning in her autobiography and blames Tule River Yokuts for both. Poison used is obtained from plant and is not exclusive possession of shamans; it is administered in food, which makes people loath to accept food from strangers (SM).

753 Ghosts sometimes put hair, tiny pebbles in
775 food when people ate after dark; this also caused sickness.

754 Various preventive measures taken against
751 witchcraft; SM swallowed tobacco and lime every night to induce vomiting so that he would not have bad dreams. Person who dreamt of coyote, rattlesnake, went out into canyon early next morning, made speech to creature, upbraiding him, and blew bad dream away (Voegelin, 1935 b, 217). Some persons took jimsonweed, etc., to obtain supernatural power against witchcraft.

754 Various attempts made to overcome effects of
755 witchcraft; relatives of sick person often made
756 direct threats to witch; when RP sick, her brother went to witch at Onyx, told latter, "If you don't
626 cure my sister I'm going to do something to you." Witch took RP out in bushes, threw ashes over her, talked to her pet and told it not to make RP ill any more; RP recovered. FP's husband made similar threat to witch. MM said relatives of sick person paid $10-20 to witch sometimes so that latter would stop sickening patient; FP corroborated
[757] this, SM said only threats used. Medicinal herbs also administered to restore health (ante); if these failed, or in violent illness, services of curing shaman engaged; actual practices of such detailed below; shaman might or might not tell patient who was bewitching him; if witch a relative of shaman latter loath to tell, might advise patient to move away from house. If curing shaman told patient who was witching him, and latter's relatives threatened witch but to no avail, shaman might make witch come to see patient and effect cure; witch cured by blowing sickness out of patient's body, using feather which he waved back and forth. Evil shamans who could only bewitch never sucked out pain in curing a victim, as other shanans did, because if pain sucked out it would enter witch's body, cause his own death, he not being powerful enough to remove it.

683 If witch refused to cure sick person or stop
627 malevolent practices, patient's relatives, after obtaining chief's sanction, often killed witch.
622 Evil shamans both sexes treated thus; if sister
754 of chief a witch, chief would talk to her, warn her to stop her evil practices, but if she did not he would order her killed (SM). Murder of witch might be accomplished by one or several individuals; witch might be lowered over cliff (see Autobiography of FP), shot; Bill Viejo Chico bound with hair rope, tied to tree, burned alive. In

683 1930 plan hatched to kill woman witch; woman cho-
627 sen to accomplish killing, but sheriff interfered.
754

756 Curing.- Curing shaman began using his power
755 to diagnose, suck out disease when approaching middle age. Curing performance constituted all-night ceremony which began after dark; held either in doctor's house, if patient came from distance, or in patient's house if doctor had been sent for. Ceremony open to all who wished to see it; doctor began by singing; some doctors blew puffs of tobacco smoke over patient at in-
[237] tervals, or waved feather-tipped wand over patient while singing; others used plain stick, pointing it at affected spot in patient's body as they sang. In song, shaman called on deer, who came to see patient; "no one except the doctor could see that deer (tohi·l, ordinary term for deer). When the doctor saw deer starting to come he'd sing, 'He is coming, way over the mts.; he is coming close now.' Then he would go outside of the house and Deer would come up to him. Deer gave him something; then the doctor returned to the house. That deer came from Mt. Whitney. After Deer had come, the doctor sucked out the pain from the patient, in the early morning. Only good doctors knew the deer song, and it was the only one they used in curing. When a doctor had sucked the pain out of a patient, he would fall down in a heavy stupor, sweating all over; then his power would help him get the pain out of his own body, and he would show the pain to the people" (SM).

Doctors did not cut before they sucked (all informants). Sometimes doctor would put piece of jimsonweed over eyes in order to see who was causing patient's illness. When they learned who witch was, they exhorted evil animal sent by witch not to molest patient and thus "sent the animal away" (SM). Most of anecdotal material collected concerning cures had to do with activities of non-Tübatulabal shamans; one curing performance by Jose Chico described briefly in FP's autobiography; several performances by Kawaiisu shamans referred to by FP.

Disease objects either animate, inanimate; MM had had "something black, that looked like a spider, 3/4 in. long, with lot of legs that wriggled as though the thing were alive" sucked out of knee, together with blood; sometimes dry blood, small stone sucked out, or lizard-like objects.

756 Besides being able to cure, good shamans "knew
●177 everything" (SM, FP); could divine guilt; locate
754 lost objects; they always knew beforehand when
787 patient was being brought to them (see Autobiography of FP). Sometimes shamans instituted new customs, as when MM's wife, an Owens Valley Paiute, told LT that Owens Valley Paiute shaman had said not to burn clothes that were dirty or worn out, in owner's lifetime, but to have them buried with owner at time of death; LT acted upon this advice and kept pitch-covered clothes she had worn while gathering piñons.

756 Fees paid to shamans for doctoring range in
754

[p. 64(a)]

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear. and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 ●177 776 791 [[71]] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PN, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

787 speak to him; this animal then became visionary's
276 pet (pungul) or life (ho·nun; also used for charm).
776 Not every person who took jimsonweed obtained pet. Pets might be eagle, chicken hawk, prairie falcon, duck with twisted bill, any variety fish, rattlesnake, bear, mt. lion, deer, antelope, rabbit. Person shared attributes of his pet; if fish obtained, could "swim all day and never be tired"; if deer, rabbit, "one could run fast." Mt. lion good pet to obtain; one "had to go to the mts. to get mt. lion; then one would be strong, like a lion" (MM). Coyote not good to have as pet, "because he belonged to bad doctors." Deer, bear, rattlesnake, best pets (SM); deer also curing shaman's pet. Ghost best sort of life to obtain; person having ghost of dead relative as his life "would never die; one man took jimsonweed and saw a ghost who talked to him; he had that ghost as
● [177] his honun" (SM). Ghost not referred to as one's pet. Bulls, cows, horses never obtained as pets.

776 Person might have 2 or more pets simultane-
787 ously; MM said person could not kill or eat any
751 species of animal he had for pet, but SM, FP denied this, except with respect to bear. Pets not inheritable; each person had to obtain his own. Identity of pet kept secret; "if person talked about his pet he wouldn't help him" (SM). Deer, bear gave songs; other pets did not; deer song not same as deer song shaman used in curing; persons with deer, bear songs sung these at night, softly, while sweating. In sickness person might be visited by his pet, cured by him. All pets, when they talked to visionary, instructed him how to make, obtain amulet (takinin), such as bear's paw (p. 65) or haliotis pendant (Voegelin, 1935 b, 193), which visionary kept secreted about his person, guarding it carefully from theft, loss; this amulet endowed with magical properties, made its possessor invulnerable against misfortune, hunger, many forms witchcraft. "A person with takinin didn't need to go to a doctor to be cured;
[178] often he could cure himself" (SM). Person sometimes helped others with his takinin (see Autobiography of FP); loss of one's amulet meant loss of supernatural power; its efficacy could also be exhausted by use. Power inherent in amulet related directly to original owner; out of his or her hands amulet not powerful object.

788 Youths of about 18 or more also took ants to
787 gain power; SM said younger women did not take ants, not being strong enough, but FP had been given them. Taking of ants individual matter; done in wintertime; youth fasted as for jimsonweed; on third day was taken into sweat house by either of his grandfathers and about 7 balls of eagle down, each containing 5 yellow ants, given him with water, "like pills." When boy's eyeballs turned red person administering ants knew he had had enough, and shook him so that ants would bite him inside. Youth then fell into stupor which lasted all day; usually regained consciousness in evening; next morning was given hot water to induce vomiting; "the ants came out alive, in those

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

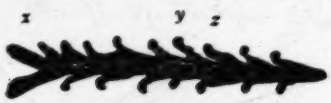

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (PN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of
[177] Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

159 Gifford, 1932 b, pl. 3b). There were 4 camps over
349 there that time, each a little distant from the
other. We used to work early, before sunup,
223 grinding that ku·l. One man killed doves, lots
of them, at a spring. He made a little brush
house and sat inside that house; when the doves
came to get a drink at the spring they couldn't
see him inside the house and he shot them with
bow and arrow. In the evening he would bring
half a sackful to camp; those doves were good
and fat. He'd give 5, maybe 6, to all the people
camping there.

159 I got tired of camping over there; we had no
481 white flour to eat. Another girl, younger than I
was, and I started home afoot. We just came alone;
there was no one else with us. We traveled all
night on that desert; it was moonlight. There
are lots of doglike animals on the desert, lots
of yu·mu·gi·wal but we didn't see any; maybe
they would eat you up.

159 We packed water in a pitched water jar, and
we took along a little lunch of ku·l meal. When
we got to Coyote Hole where there is a spring,
we wanted to drink that water there. So we
stopped at the spring. Then we saw a camp on a
hill above the spring a little way off; we ran
the other way, up into the hills, when we saw
● [171] that camp. We were afraid that the people at the
spring were Frenchmen and that they would kill
us. The people in the camp were all asleep; they
didn't see us. There were Frenchmen up here then,
lots of them; they chase women, right away when
they see them. We were afraid of Frenchmen.

When we arrived at the other side of the sum-
mit (Walker pass) we got water at a spring a
little way down; then we ate our lunch and rested
a little, because we were tired. It was sunup
when we got to the summit. Then we came down to
Canebrake from the summit. By Canebrake we saw
[177] 2 men coming up the canyon, but we were afraid
and ran over on a little hill where we watched
them. They were trappers, I think; white men.

We got to u·u·pu·lap; there were some people
living there. We were going home to omomïp from
there, but they told us my mother had left
omomïp to gather chia seeds and that nobody was
home. The people at u·u·pu·lap said everybody
from omomïp was over at Scodie's mt., so that
same day we went over there. We were very tired,
but we couldn't stay over at omomïp all alone,
with nobody in the house. We found my mother all
right.

My grandmother came back from over on the
desert a week after we got back. That girl who
came home with me that time is still living; she
lives over at Paiute all by herself; her husband
is dead; she lives in a house near a white lady.
She looks young yet; the Indians never used to
get old-looking for a long time in the old days;
these young people do now though because they eat
[262] everything hot, with too much salt. Indians used
to eat salt too, but only a little bit.

I was growing up then. When wïšimlït (SM's

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

DREAMS

15. JIMSONWEED DREAM

1. Once I went from Bishop to Mammoth, going to work for one man. 2. I am opening up a ditch. 3. Then it rained on me; it rained very much. 4. The hail then (was the size of) chicken's eggs. 5. So I ran away from there toward the house. 6. Then (after the shower) I went back to my own work. 7. Then I came to my own house in the evening. 8. Then, when I finished eating, I slept. 539x

9. Then I dreamed. 10. I saw a windmill; I saw it. 11. Then one man is telling me: "It (the windmill) may be used as an instrument for flooding the houses," he says, "when the world is worn out," he says. 12. Then from there I see God and also angels. 13. Then there the man says to me, "Look you at that," he says; "jimsonweed," he says, "you ought to drink it," he says. 14. "Good," I say. [276]

15. Then from there the very next day I went toward my own home, toward Bishop. 16. Then, when I arrive at my own home, I tell my own wife: "I dreamed that." 17. Then: "Go to your own house, to your own father; he can give you jimsonweed," she says. 18. I did not come. 19. Then I got hurt myself after three months. 20. There, the one who told me in vain, the man is there. 21. It is the end.

16. BEAR DREAM

1. Once I came from Bishop long ago. 2. So I am coming on the road. 3. Then I arrived at Indian Wells. 4. From there I came toward the summit. 5. Then, while I was wanting to arrive at the summit, I saw a bear while he was running away from the mountain. 6. He is coming running. 7. Then I, contrary to will, am coming very fast (in a Ford). 8. Already very close the bear appeared to come. 9. I left him there and went away. 10. Then I, while appearing to go away from there, looked back. 11. No bear. 12. This direction I (am) on the steep place. [177]

13. Then I woke up suddenly. 14. (It was) the first time I dreamt of the bear from Bishop. 15. Then I from there came away from Bishop, having finished dreaming (of) that bear. 16. Then I came and arrived here to my own father. 17. Then I lived here two or three months. 18. Then I dream again (of) that bear, my own past dream.

19. There on the summit I see him when dreaming. 20. He followed me. 21. Then I passed that bear; then I woke up. 22. Then, two weeks after my own dream, I took leave toward Bishop. 23. Then I, on the summit, went and arrived. 24. Then I remembered my own past dream (of) the bear. 25. I did not stand for a moment on the summit. 26. Straightway I went. 27. I became very frightened. 28. From there I took leave.

17. REQUESTED DREAM

1. I dreamed because you said to me, "You will dream." 2. Then I dream that at night we are sitting in the house. 3. A big white house and another house are standing in the neighborhood. 4. Then we are sitting there next to the house. 5. We are eating our own lunch. 6. Then your wife is sitting on this side. 7. Then from there she yells to you: "Come, run," she is saying. 8. Then you go to that side. 9. Then your wife is holding the little girl. 10. The little girl died momentaneously. 11. Then I saw above. 12. Then I see it; (there are) two men and one woman. 13. Then one man sits next to me. 14. Then he says, "Do not look," he says, "it is bad," he says. 15. Then Old Man is sitting on this side. 16. Then I say, "Let me call him."

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

17. Then I, already wanting to go, woke up with a start. 18. Then I got up at four o'clock. 19. Then I went out far away; when I arrived, I prayed (and) I blew (to get rid of the impurity of the dream). 20. I dreamed a bad one. 21. I blew (the bad dream away). 22. "Nothing, nothing (bad remains)," I say, "everything (is) good; to us nothing (bad) will happen." 23. It is the end. 539x

18. BULL DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along the valley. 2. Then I see cattle. 3. I go and hold my own gun. 4. Then I see the bull. 5. There is not a bull (but) a shaman (assuming the form of a bull); (this) one is wanting to come back to me. 6. Then from there I go down toward the canyon, I am going to the canyon. 7. Then I see the bull in front (of me). 8. Then, when he sees me, he runs away from me because I am holding my own gun. 9. Then I woke up. [177 411 756]

19. DEER DREAM

1. While dreaming, I am going along. 2. I cross the deep canyon. 3. On the other side in the mountains, I ascend the mountains. 4. Then, when I wanted to go out, I tracked the deer in his tracks. 5. Then I went and found many deer. 6. Then they jump about in every direction. 7. Then a big one stands still. 8. Then I shot him; he came and fell down dead. 9. Then I went and saw him; I shot him in his heart. 10. Then I woke up with a start. 11. It is bad to be dreaming of deer; you kill human beings (as a result), so they say. [787]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
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27. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. There, it is said, I was born; it is (where) I am living (now); my father says (this); and there, also, my older brother, it is said, all (of us siblings) were born. 2. Then, it is said, I grew up already; it is said I wandered about already. 3. Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me. 4. Then, it is said, I am crying. 5. Then, it is said, my mother is sick. 6. Then, it is said, I am crying very much when I am hungry. 7. Then, it is said, I took from there to here a little blanket. "Here, sit down, mother," I say, it is said; "No," she says. 8. Then, it is said, I eat food.

9. From there I grew up already. 10. Then I am learning already. 11. Then my father made my bow. 12. Then I am hunting. 13. Then I am killing wood-rats; (I) used to eat those birds, everything. 14. I used to bring to my own father (whatever I shot). 15. Then, "Good," says my father. 16. (I) used to kill everything, rabbits, cottontails, and also quail, and also pigeon. 17. Then I bring that to my own father. 18. And also I used to cause fish to swallow (bait). 19. I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip). 20. Then my mother boils those (fish); we used to eat them all the time.

21. Then father used to teach us. 22. "Wander about well(-behaved); steal nothing and also do not be nasty to the old men when you see (them); if you believe (my words), then you will get old." 23. "Good," we say, "then we are wandering about well(-behaved) all the time." 24. "Surely I got old already because I believe the talk of my own father." 25. Then he used to tell us myths in the evening when it was winter, (about) Coyote, (about) everything. 26. "Then go ye and bathe in the morning, when the Morning Star comes out; twice ye will dive in." 27. Then he says, "Good." 28. "Nothing will prick you; but if you will not bathe, then wood will prick you." 29. Surely, we used to bathe in the dark (before dawn); the water is very cold; we break the ice when we bathe; then (it is) good. 30. We do everything good all the time.

31. Then from there one Mexican came and arrived. 32. Then he says, "Would that your offspring would go watch over my pets (goats)." 33. "Good," says my father. 34. Then he took us; there we went and arrived at his house; and his pets (are) many. 35. Then we look after (them) every day and also we gather firewood in the evening when we arrive (at camp). 36. Then we used to run away when we were tired out; we come back toward our own house. 37. Then when we arrived, father used to scold us. 38. "Why did you come back?" he says. "(Because) we were tired." 40. Then he goes and puts us back again. 41. Presently we are coming back in the same way. 42. Then we do not go for a long time. 43. Then after a while the Mexican came and arrived. 44. "I already sold those, my own pets," he says; "and I left some," he says, "my present to your offspring," he says, "and ye come get (them)," he says. 45. "Good," says my father. 46. Then we went from there to go get (them). 47. Then we took (them) from there to here. 48. We brought (them) there (where) I used to look after (them). 49. Then from there we sold them.

50. Then from there I went to school. 51. Then I did not know the language of that teacher. 52. Then (there is) one Mexican; when I do not understand the language, then the Mexican tells me. 53. Then from there we went; then from school we went in the evening toward Weldon. 54. Then one man went and caught up to us there. 55. He is coming on horseback. 56. Then he talked to us, "Cold," he says. 57. Then we all say, "Cold!" too. 58. We do not understand what that means. 59. Then the man looks at us. 60. From there we came back in the evening toward our own house. 61. Then from there we are coming to school. 62. I went to school one year. 63. Then that teacher whipped me because I do not hear (i.e., understand) what she means. 64. She whipped me. 65. Then I got mad. 66. Then I tore my own book. 67. From there I went toward my own house. 68. Then from there I worked; I never went to school again.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

people came to see me, and also that doctor. 530. Then, it is said, "Let me sew him up," (that doctor) is saying, it is said (referring to my head). 531. Then, it is said, they brought me inside the house. 532. There, it is said, he sewed me up. 533. Then after four days I knew it. 534. I am lying in bed. 535. Then I saw one woman; she is the one who nurses me. 536. She is feeding me. 537. "Are you being very sick?" she is saying to me. 538. "No," I am saying. 539. Then, "Good," she is saying. 540. Then she is bathing me. 541. I stayed there one month. 542. Then she took me to my house. 539X 159

543. I lived there a long time in my own (Bishop) house. 544. After five months I am sick yet. 545. "I shall go to my own (Kern River) house," I am saying to my own wife. 546. "Good," she is saying. 547. "And I shall take Mickey," I am saying. 548. Then, "Good," she is saying, "and you care for him well," she is saying. 549. Then from there I went to the house of the agent. 550. "I go back pretty soon," I am saying, "to my own house," I am saying, "and I shall take Mickey," I am saying to that chief (the Indian agent). 551. "Good," he is saying, "you care for him well," he is saying. 552. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

553. From there we came. 554. We stayed here. 555. Then I am living here. 556. Then Chogil arrived here. 557. Then he came and arrived at my house. 558. Then he took me in his hand (shook hands). 559. "Hello," he is saying. 560. I saw him for the first time. 561. Then, "I am glad to see you," he is saying. 562. "I (am) too," I am saying when he is speaking. 563. Then from there, "(This) is my wife," he is saying. 564. Then from there I took her hand. 565. "Hello," she is saying. 566. "Hello yourself," I am saying. 567. Then from there Chogil spoke to me, "I am writing the language of Indians," he is saying, "and can you not teach me?" Chogil is saying; "and one dollar I am paying," he is saying, "for half of the day," he is saying, "you will teach me half of the day," he is saying; "and also another one, a woman, is living there," he is saying, "that one will teach me half the day," he is saying. 568. Then, "Good," I am saying when he is speaking. 569. Then they camped there; we are working from there, half the day. 570. Then from there in the afternoon Chogil is coming to the house of Ambashupim. 571. Coming to work, he is coming there. 572. Then from there in the evening he is going back again; it is the same (as this) every day. 573. Then from there the wife of Chogil is asking Old Man too. 574. She is getting everything. 575. She is asking (about) every flower. 576. "What is its name?" she is saying. 577. She is asking that (about) everything. 578. She is doing that every day. 579. Then we are working with Chogil. 580. He is getting every myth. 581. Chogil is writing all that down. 539X 159 177

582. Then my friend wrote to me there. 583. "I (am) arrested," he is saying, "and you tell my sister in future," he is saying, "and also my younger brother," he is saying; "you come see me in future," he is saying; "the wife jailed me," he is saying. 584. Then I told his sister and also his younger brother. 585. Then, "Good," she is saying, "we shall go to see him," she is saying. 586. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking. 587. "And you might talk to your own friend," she is saying, "to that Chogil," she is saying, "you say in future, 'Take us in future,' " she is saying, " 'toward Bishop,' " she is saying. 539X 159

588. Then from there I talked to Chogil. 589. "It is said that you might take us," I am saying to Chogil. 590. Then, "Good," he is saying, "well, we will go tomorrow," he is saying. 591. Then from there the next day I talked to that one who wants to go (the younger brother): "We are on the point of going already," I am saying. 592. "I cannot go," he is saying, "but you wait a while, (about) four days," he is saying, "then I will get money (for finishing irrigation work)," he is saying. 593. Then I spoke to Chogil. "The money of that one, of the one who wants to go, is said (to be) nothing," I am saying. " 'And you might wait four days,' he is saying to me, 'then I will get money,' he is saying," thus I spoke to Chogil. 594. "That (is just as) well, our going (alone, without him)," he is saying, "we (must go) today," he is saying. 595. Then from there I spoke to that man (the younger brother), "It is said that we take leave," I am saying. 596. "Well, good," he is saying, "when you go and arrive, you say in future to my older brother, 'When you get out, come (to Kern River) in future.' " 597. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Yokuts NS29

of these terms to wider groups. Thus the "Yokol" of the Tübatulabal seem to have included also the Gawia, Yaudanchi, and perhaps other tribes.

The Tübatulabal of to-day may aggregate 150. Perhaps the number is nearer 100. On the ancient population there are no data. A thousand seems as reasonable a guess as any other: at least it appears ample.

ARTS.

The Tübatulabal are one of the seemingly endless number of California tribes whose customs have never been described in any detail. Intercourse and intermarriage between them and the Yokuts were so frequent that they must have been strongly influenced by this much larger nation.

Their basketry is scarcely distinguishable from that of the southern Yokuts; it appears to average a little better in fineness. Tree yucca root replaced *Cercis* bark for red patterns. They made pottery of the same type as the Yokuts. Like these people, they ate tobacco mixed with lime. Their houses, or at least one form of dwellings, were covered with tule mats.

It is not certain that they had any form of sweat house: what may be remains of such have been reported. Balsas of bundled tules, with a keel, a slender prow, and a square stern, were made.

The dead were buried.

SOCIETY.

In their social life they stood more apart. The exogamous moieties of the Yokuts were not represented among them. There are possible traces of the totemic manifestations that accompany this dual organization. Young eagles were caught and reared. They were not killed, but were ultimately liberated. The plucking of their feathers seems to have been only a minor end of their captivity. Other birds, such as condors, crows, hawks, and geese, and even young coyotes, were kept as pets; in some cases inherited by the son from the father. In mythology the eagle is the chief, the coyote his antithesis; one has as associates a variety of birds, the other lizards, vermin, and trivial or noxious beasts.

In some matters Yokuts practices have failed to obtain a foothold, or a secure one, among the Kern River people. The parent-in-law taboos are not observed, or only by those individuals intimately associated with the Yokuts by intermarriage. This factor, incidentally, has introduced a number of Yokuts personal names among the Tübatulabal, who care very little whether an individual's appellation has any meaning as long as it is the name of an ancestor. The designation of kindred is almost identical with that of the Kawaiisu, and

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

apparently of the Chemehuevi: the terms used are often quite different, but their significance is the same. The two groups thus think alike as regards relationship. A particular trait shared with the Yokuts is the custom of altering the kinship term when the connecting relative has died; but this has already been seen to be a Kawaiisu device, and the custom may well have had a Shoshonean origin and been borrowed by the Yokuts.

Chieftainship, on the other hand, resembles the Yokuts rather than the Kawaiisu institution. The prime requisite is to be the son of a *tiwimal* or chief; the approval of the community and the possession of wealth are also factors. The father selects the son who is to receive the dignity; if there is no male heir, a daughter succeeds. The feeling as regards descent must be strong, since the husband of a chieftainess is accorded no official authority, and the title passes to her son.

RELIGION.

Information fails as to whether the Tübatulabal practiced the southern Yokuts form of Jimson-weed ritual. They did have what the Yokuts seem to have lacked: a definite adolescence ceremony for girls. It is the old story: among the hill men this simple and personal observance stands out conspicuously, while in the more elaborate civilization of the lowlanders it is dwarfed or crowded aside.

The fact that the Tübatulabal are said in this ceremony to put their girls into a pit and cover them suggests an influence from southern California.

The mourning ceremony is called *Anangat*, is made primarily for a single person of prominence about two years after his death, and as among Maidu, Yokuts, and Luiseño, represents him by an image. Such a figure is made of bundled tules, and its sex denoted by bead necklaces and feathers, or an apron. The figure is burned at daybreak of the last night of the rites, together with baskets and other valuables.

So far we have substantially the same features as mark the ceremony among the other tribes mentioned. A trait that may be distinctive of the Tübatulabal is the fact that the mourner puts the observances in charge of visitors from other localities. This may be the substitute of an undivided people for the reciprocal division of function among a dually organized one; or the basic idea of the participation of nonmourners may be older and have been seized upon and fortified by those groups that were subsequently cleft into social moieties.

An invited chief had charge of the burning at the climax. His people gathered wood, tended the fire, burned the image, washed the

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 131 197 177 563 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").